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SOME
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
PROJECTED UNION
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
AND THE
INEXPEDIENCY OF AGITATING THE MEASURE
AT THIS TIME.

ARGUMENTS OF POINTS
By J. H. C. Esq.
BARRISTER AT LAW.

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1798.

OBSEVATIONS

ON THE

PROTECTED UNION

BETWEEN

GRAT BIRTH AND BIRTH



EXHIBITION OF THE MUSEUM

H. C. PRO.

DUBLIN

1860

THOUGHTS

ON AN

UNION,

&c. &c.

ARGUMENTS on political subjects are always more indecisive, and produce less conviction, than on any of those theoretick subjects, which the combining power of the human mind can frame for discussion. The human passions are ever more deeply engaged in them—Thus that cool deliberation is destroyed, which is so necessary to judgment. Party-spirit, and the fatal power of *influence* interfere; candour is thereby shut out from the debate; interest often and generally

generally clashes with policy. False conclusions are therefore the result of the discussion ; pride, vanity, false opinions, the power of prejudice, the want of fixed principles, the fear of consequences, the impressions received from the history of the last ten years—every thing that can distort or blindfold our judgment in the discussion of political subjects, has in its turn it's individual weight, and nothing but cool deliberation, and a close investigation of the secret motives which actuate parties, can prevent error in our conclusions.

Never did a moment occur, in which this lesson was more necessary than at the close of the year 1798 ; never did the danger of precipitancy appear more formidable ; never did so many causes unite at one time to throw obstacles in the way of fair discussion ; and yet, such is the time, when the Irish nation is called on to determine on a subject of unmeasured magnitude and importance.

The proposition, which those, who are entrusted with his Majesty's Government in Ireland, openly avow, as being amongst the first, on which the Irish Parliament will be called to debate, is one, that embraces

embraces every national concern at once ; the public mind is agitated, and, I fear, is inflamed by it. If such is really the case, the measure will be adopted with indiscreet and indiscriminating haste, or rejected with intemperance—unweighed and unvalued.

The chief object of the following pages is to shew, that the present state of Ireland is ill calculated for the impartial discussion of a subject of such national importance, and to point the public attention to some of those considerations, which must arise in the discussion and previous arrangement, and which should be well and calmly weighed, before the hour of decision comes. The difficulty of determining the question at once, which the writer is anxious to impress upon the minds of others, and the various subjects for previous consideration, which must occur, should deter a judgment more acute, and a mind more enlighten'd than his, from giving that hasty opinion, which it is his endeavour to prevent others from forming.

The secret and deep laid plans of republicanism, which have been fatally successful in winning so many

many thousands from their allegiance, have during the last summer months rendered Ireland a miserable spectacle of desolation, murder and rapine. The standard of rebellion has been seen in every province, and in every county. A war, not of political controversy but of bloody animosity, was raged against the peaceable inhabitants as well as the soldiers of royalty—Scenes, so fresh in the eye of every man, need not to be described; it is enough to say that every institution, which had the defence of the constitution and the protection of the country for its foundation, was the object of destruction. The effects produced by a state of unceasing alarm and danger, and the daily detail of bloody actions with the rebel armies—by the desolation and ruin, which every where threatened us, and by the terrors of an approaching winter—were visible to every eye. A dejection and weariness of body and mind—an apathy in some—despondence in others—and passion and resentment in the rest. In which of those classes would philosophy find a habitation? Is it when the human mind is in a state of political as well as natural debility, that its energies are to be brought to the test? is it when the fretfulness and irritation, or the lethargy and listlessness, which

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are attendant on the fever, under which the nation has suffered for several months past—is it when these have their fullest influence, that a subject is laid before it, which would require the most active energies of the mind to examine and decide upon it? Will the nation forget its own illness—and undertake a task adapted only to the vigour of health? Is it to the bed of sickness and debility; that an intricate and difficult examination of a complex and abstruse question should be brought? How often have the arrangements, which have been thus made between man and man—been annulled by our Courts of Equity?

If it is possible by ringing the alarm to rouse the public to an examination of the cause—before the mode of action shall be resolved on—If it is possible to check that impetuosity, which hurries to decide, before reason has been consulted—the nation may reap advantages, but cannot suffer injury by the delay.

An Union between Great Britain and Ireland is so comprehensive in its effects on the latter, that the avowal of the measure cannot but create uncommon agitation in the public mind. It engages our feelings and

and implicates our interests both as individuals and as a nation. It will be irrevocable in its consequences. Its effects are not temporary but permanent. Its operation is not limited in its extent or duration, but embraces the whole nation and posterity. Not partial in its action, but general in its influence. Every consideration of pride and interest—of property and profession—of national dignity and private consequence—of speculative enterprise—and established modes of trade—all come within the colossal stride of this projected measure.

And on such an occasion will this nation yield at once to first impressions? Will the nation listen with gaping folly to the frothy, or the arrogant, or the insidious arguments of those who would hurry them in one instant to embrace with childish haste, or to reject with sulky obstinacy a measure so momentous? Is this nation to be pamphletized out of its own judgment?

And who is he, whose philosophic eye can at one glance, see the subject in all its consequences immediate and remote?—Who is he, that will tell this nation with all the pedantry of an academic, or all the hankering prejudices of an alien—that

Ireland

Ireland can derive from the adoption of the measure nothing but benefits—national prosperity and individual advantage—religious security and a more dignified representation?—Who is he, that will tell you that if you embrace the measure, even under any modification, you will be the murderer of national honor and prosperity—and the curse of your posterity? Is it in the *ipse dixit* of an official writer, that we shall find a clue to lead our judgments? Is it in the hypocondriac terrors of an alarmist, that we shall read the lesson of caution? Let us rather divest our minds of blind confidence, and of false fears. Let us examine with strictness, but not with partiality. Let us debate with calmness—listening to the arguments of those, who speak from deliberation, not from party; and weighing the conclusions, which flow from the hypothesis of other men, let us deliberate thereon in private, and argue in public; and from the general fund, which is formed of the opinions of calm and sensible enquirers, let one determination be adopted. By such a mode of proceeding the general good will not be the sufferer.

I cannot but think it strange, that his Majesty's Ministers in this kingdom, have not, in the avowed

of the measure, stated any outline, by which the nation might be guided in its previous deliberation, before the parliament shall have met. It is strange, that the public attention has not been called to the terms, on which the union between the two kingdoms is intended to be framed. It is strange, that in this avowal of the measure, no official communication has been considered as necessary, to the commercial part of the metropolis, or of the kingdom.

My most firm belief is, that it is by no means the wish or intention of the English Cabinet to force the measure, or to be heedless of the voice of this nation, should that voice be against it. I condemn that readiness to impute ill motives to those, who sent an English army into Ireland,—nor do I give any credit to the assertion, that the object of that force was, not to repel a foreign enemy or subdue a domestick one, but to overawe the kingdom into a compliance with the will of the English Cabinet. Those who wish to separate Ireland from Great Britain, are the worst enemies this nation has to encounter. Nature has linked the two kingdoms together by so many ties, that a separation would be a convulsion, fatal perhaps to both.—And wicked
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must that spirit be, which would wish for the sake of experiment, to risque the happiness, nay the existence of his country.

Many of those, who have delivered their sentiments on the subject of an Union, seem to me to injure the discussion, by assuming certain data, the existence of which is almost as much a matter of controversy as the main question itself. One writer builds his little argument on a foundation, which is sapped by general opinion. He rests his superstructure on this unlevelled basis, "that two independent states, finding their separate existence mutually inconvenient, propose to form themselves into one state for their mutual benefit."—If this hypothesis be true, would it not have been worth his labour, to have wrought a conviction of its truth in the minds of a doubting nation?—How like the Cretan, who passed Ætna by to view the volcano in Lipari.

The analogy, which is sought for in the reference to ancient states, or even to those more modern, will produce but little advantage to the adducer. Examples of this kind are, in almost every instance, found to exist between states at war and enmity with each

each other, and whose relative situations and jarring interests excluded the probability of a lasting peace. Where an Union takes place between nations so circumstanced, no force of argument can be drawn from thence analogous to the question now before us ;—and for this reason, that in those instances no alternative was left to either but a continual war, or an unlimited, inseparable, unconditional Union—not so much an union of the nations, as of the people. No previous arrangement of the terms—no inequality of interests—no limitation of benefits—no distinction of rights were to be argued and adjusted—were to be enrolled and preserved as land-marks to ascertain separate estates to either nation. In the Swiss Cantons I see nothing that can be quoted with effect, except in the insignificant instance of the country of the Grisons. One example indeed, and a familiar one, seems to come near the question now before us, and has been introduced by others.—I allude to the union of Scotland with England. In the secret history of the instruments and means, by which that event was accomplished, the enquirer will find much to guide him on this occasion. He will there read, what were the separate views of each nation—what were their motives, and

and what were their objects. He will see how far the general good was pursued, how far partial advantage was sought after,—he will see what was left undone, as well as what was finished. “There is,” says Bolingbroke, “in every state measure, an avowed reason and a reserved motive.”

At the commencement of the 18th century, Scotland laboured under many inconveniencies and disadvantages, which Ireland is not exposed to. Besides the unity of the two Crowns being lost, Scotland had a constitution by no means like to that of England, and far, very far inferior to it. By her incorporation with England, her constitution received many great improvements,—much yet remains to be improved and corrected. Here no similarity can be found with Ireland. It is not in the theory of our constitution that we can reap advantage by an Union with Britain.—In the practice let it be sought:—Wisdom may find employment there.

I confess that it appears to me to be a matter of no serious import to Ireland, to learn the secret motives of England in seeking the accomplishment
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of this project. Grant, that she seeks her own aggrandizement by it.—Grant, that it is not the interests and prosperity of Ireland which are her object, but her own power and security.—Grant that the advantages which must accrue to her, far outweigh those which Ireland can derive from the adoption of the measure.—Yet, if by an incorporation of the two nations, Ireland will receive considerable benefits—and no losses or sacrifices are to follow to counterbalance those benefits, why should she with envious churlishness deny herself advantages, because that which will bring them to her will bring greater to England? I am firmly persuaded, that were the two nations connected by an Union formed without dishonorable partiality, that each would ultimately benefit by every advantage of the other. The great difficulty is so to frame that Union, that Disunion be not the consequence. On the previous arrangements, on their security, and the wisdom of their formation, (should the measure be adopted) depend the happiness of Ireland.

The imperious necessity of caution and deliberate examination, should never for a moment be forgotten. If the advantages resulting to Ireland from

an incorporation with England are not outweighed by the sacrifices she must make, and that the wish of the nation is, that that incorporation shall take effect,—let a security be had, that these advantages be not fleeting or revocable, whilst our sacrifices are permanent and irrevocable.—Let a security be had, that when the power of revision is gone, the necessity of revising be not left behind.—Let a security be had, that when an unanimity of the Irish Representatives in the British Parliament would point out the injurious and unfair tendency of any measure to the kingdom which they represent, that unanimity may have the power to resist it with effect. The eye need not wander far to find an example of the necessity of this caution.—Let a security be had, that the Irish Representatives in the British Senate cannot become the instruments of a British party in that Senate.—Let a security be had, that the election of Irish Representatives to serve in a British Senate, be not under the influence of a British Minister.—Let a security be had, that the articles of Union be not infringed.—Let a security be had, where prudence may suggest and expediency require it.

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It is intended, I am told, that on every question which relates to Ireland alone, the Irish representatives alone are to decide on it. If this be true, I doubt not but the framer of that modification had the interest of Ireland for his object. But I conceive any question of moment so exclusively relating to Ireland alone, that no direct or indirect interest of England can be involved in it. If so, it will be no difficult matter to exclude the operation of such a clause on almost every possible occasion.

That which is termed national dignity, seems to me to be as little understood, as it has been greatly misapplied on the present occasion. Where two kingdoms have but one Crown, yet separate legislatures; where a physical incorporation, but not a political one, has been formed by degrees;—where one fleet and one army, nationally indivisible even in thought, have been formed from the subjects of each without distinction;—where the enemies of one are the enemies of both;—where peace and war affect both or neither;—where the subjects of the one are entitled to all the natural rights of the other—where is the distinct and separate national dignity

dignity of either? I know of none. The dignity of such an empire is not divisible into parts.

National pride is but too generally national prejudice. The introduction of those plausible terms amongst the objects of real consideration, is loading the enquiry with gilded baubles. They are like the foils and spangles on the slipper of the opera-dancer, which catch the eye and give a false appearance of action.

Allusions to partnerships in trade, and other unions amongst men, not in their collective capacity, bring with them no force of argument to the present question,—and for this great reason, that they reach not beyond the lives of the parties; another reason forbids the assimilation—namely, that the possibility of a separation is not excluded in case of mutual or partial unhappiness.

In considering this subject, the Legislature will press itself first upon our attention,—because, it is that part of our constitution which is the keystone of our happiness, and will be principally affected by an Union. The importance of it demands a

most minute examination of the changes it will undergo, and the effects those changes may be productive of to the nation. It is true, that the House of Commons of Ireland is not filled according to the true theory of representation. It is true, that defects and blemishes are to be found therein, and could a safe correction of them be devised, I would rejoice at its application—but not at once. Alterations in so material a part of our political structure must be gradual. But party spirit, and disaffection, and a rage for innovation have magnified every defect; and the most criminal industry has been employed to league the people of Ireland against the constitution. The violent and wicked remedies which have been prescribed, urged, and even fought for, must shew to every reflecting mind, the necessity which has been created of even cherishing these blemishes in the Irish representative body, which do actually exist, rather than submit to the regimen, which traitors and republicans would force or persuade us to adopt.

I doubt not but that the incorporation of the two Legislatures would be the means of correcting most of those blemishes, which exist in ours. Most
certainly

certainly it would totally remove the chief and the only grounds, on which the existence of boroughs can be justified. It is a mockery on representation to behold the voice of an individual returning twenty members into the House of Representatives. It is inverting the object of representation, not pursuing it. The delay, the impolicy and the inefficacy of taking the sentiments of a nation by its individuals, on any proposition, gave birth to delegation. By delegation was intended, that numbers should be represented by one. How is this inverted, if one is represented by many? Instead of one voice acting as the aggregate sentiment of many, this is multiplying the sentiment of one into many, and giving each a separate representation in the Senate House. Absurd and irreconcilable as this may appear, and injurious as it has often been to the interests of the kingdom, and may again be so, yet in the events which have taken place in Ireland within these twelve months, we find not only an excuse for its existence, but even a necessity for its continuance, until the causes cease, which justify it at present.

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The term of that necessity will be, I hope, very short. But the hour of political and private nervousness is not a fit time for throwing off an old garment, under which, notwithstanding some rents, we have found a genial warmth, and a protection against the fury of the storm.

The commencement of an Union would undoubtedly be the death of those reasons, which ambition or venal ingenuity can frame in the defence of boroughs. If representation is a measure of expediency—the more perfect that representation is, the the more completely does it answer the ends of it. Every deviation from the principles, on which it is founded, is a corruption—and corruption in the body politic, like that in the body natural, gives birth to things disgusting.

It is not supposed by any one, that the whole of the two houses of Parliament are to be annexed to those of Great Britain, but a proportion only. How much consideration and debate and struggle will that proportion occasion, should the measure take effect? on that proportion the hopes and fears of Ireland will rest. Clamour here should be silent,
left

lest it confound the arrangement. Much is to be feared, lest the noisy or subtle arguments of the agents of revolution or of power should lead the multitude astray, and thus force the judgment of the wise and the learned to yield to popular tumult.

The example, which is drawn from the Union of Scotland with England, furnishes to Ireland a lesson of caution and wisdom, which should never be lost sight of. The fixed and unchangeable limitation of the representation of that kingdom suggests to me the following observations:

If the proportion of Irish representation to be admitted into the British Senate is to be ascertained by her present relative consequence and value in the Empire—how is the future exercise of that value and consequence (in relation to the Empire) to receive hereafter its proportion of additional representation commensurate to that relative increase? The growth of Irish prosperity is confidentially promised to be in a ratio far above calculation, by the adoption of this great measure, a previous article should therefore be inserted to provide for it, lest the English Cabinet, composed of men without
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either the ability or the integrity of the present members, should be hereafter deaf to a claim, which had not been provided for by the articles of Union. Ireland cannot be certain, that her consequence will every seven years be weighed with impartiality and justice in the scale of the Empire, and a proportion of representatives be allotted to her accordingly.

Whether the placing the dernier resort in the Irish house of Peers has in its consequences justified that proud exultation, which took place at the accomplishment of that event, is a subject which I mean not to touch upon. Whether the dignity of our Peerage will be affected by an Union, I mean not to argue. The whole body of our Peerage cannot find seats in the English house of Lords.

I must suppose, that in the articles of Union, England will propose to ascertain and limit the number of Irish Peers admissible to Parliament, as was done with Scotland. But let not this material point be overlooked in the arrangement, namely, that if the number to be admitted is to be ascertained by a comparison with the present number of English Peers—a provision should be made, that in every

every addition hereafter to be made to the English Peerage, Ireland shall be considered, and shall be enabled to send her proportion also to the English house of Lords—whether this point had been discussed at the settlement of the articles of the Scotch Union, neither my researches nor my enquiries have been as yet able to discover. But it is surely a provision well deserving the attention of the kingdom, should an Union take place between her and England. The credit of Ireland will greatly depend on the abilities and virtues of the Peers she shall elect on this occasion to represent her. Independence of spirit is as necessary as independence of fortune—integrity in politicks as much as integrity in private dealings.—The mode of election will be a subject requiring much deliberation. If the Union be not embraced, and the Irish house of Peers thereby remain on it's present footing—I shall only observe, that an hereditary representative Body should be ever most pure, because it is not liable to that correction to which the octenial election subjects the Lower House.

Utcunque defecere mores

Dedecorant benè nata culpæ.

I must suppose, that if the Union takes place, the mode of representation of Ireland in the British House

House of Commons, will be by an election, not by boroughs, but by counties, proportioned to their value in the nation. I must suppose that the present proprietors of boroughs will be recompensed by Parliament for the loss of their *inheritance* or *purchase* in those boroughs. The introduction of such a proposition into Parliament, will call forth the metaphysical subtilty of the mover to reconcile it to the rules of Parliament. An avowal must be made, that boroughs are mere private property, and that two-thirds of those, who compose that very parliament, are not elected by the nation but by proprietors.—Proprietors of the boroughs—Proprietors of the votes in Parliament. But the breach of order in making such an avowal in that House, should not stand a bar to so necessary a proposition.

I have heretofore considered the Parliamentary modifications without involving the question which brings into agitation, the power of Parliament to make any material innovation in the constitution. This will be a subject of debate, which will, I fear, create more heat, and produce more political animosities and divisions, than this already-divided nation

nation can well bear. The science of politics has this peculiarity in it, that every pupil or novice in it, at once thinks himself a master. Thus it is, that in every company, and at every table, political subjects are unceasingly introduced; and no man departs with any other conviction on his mind, from the arguments he has heard, than that heat and passion are inseparable from such discussions, and that personal animosities are the conclusions which follow.

And can it be hoped, that a subject, which rouses the feelings and passions of every one more than any other political subject whatever,—because it affects that constitution, which all have been taught to love and revere,—Can it, I say, be hoped that such a subject will be weighed with impartiality in a moment, and in such a moment as the present? Can it be hoped, that in proportion to its magnitude it will be considered with coolness? Are the objects which it embraces, and the interests which it affects, so easily comprised within the compass of one glance, that time will not be necessary to form our judgements? Is the merchant of the north and the merchant of the south so proximate, that each

can at the same instant whisper in the enquirer's ear, the result of every commercial consideration? Are the sentiments of constituents to be collected throughout this nation without meetings, or without reference?—or is the representative to reject the assistance of his country on a measure, which if adopted, will be without revision or repeal?

And is this nation in that sober, calm, unagitated state, that needs no rest, and is fitted to this inflaming debate? Is it in the remembrance of murdered friends yet fresh upon the mind? Is it in the embers, yet warm, of those fires in which the houses and property of thousands were consumed? Is it in the Reports of the Secret Committees verified by events? Is it in the terrors, which a secret and domestic foe at this very hour occasion? Is it in the depression of private credit, and in the still existing necessity of keeping the Yeomanry on duty? Is it in a nation divided and armed against itself? Is it in these, that we find an argument to prove the nation to be in that sober and calm and unprejudiced state of mind, which is suited to the reception and consideration of a measure, the extent of whose effects, has called up a ministerial officer to

to publish his arguments for and "AGAINST" the adoption of it? Have the consequences, which may follow an agitation in the public mind, been considered? Is the necessity of an instantaneous conclusion so imperious, that nothing can be conceded to caution? Who can yet say "the storm is past, and the wreck is cleared?"

The commercial part of the nation forms so considerable an interest, and is so particularly liable to the effects of changes, that it essentially behoves it to examine with cautious care the consequences, which may result to it from the projected Union. It is a misfortune, and a real one, that there is not that unity of commercial interests amongst the merchants of Ireland, which exists in England so greatly to its advantage. The North, from the habits of a trade, which is fatally hurtful to general commerce in a nation, where imposts and restrictions are necessary, differs in its interests from the South, and particularly from the metropolis. On few questions would the merchants of both agree. There has been, I believe, no instance of any considerable fortune being amassed in the North by commerce, save such only where smuggling has been

been the means. The modes of commerce, which have been practiced there, create an interest, which will not be consentaneous with the ideas of a fair trader. The geographical situation of the North gives so much encouragement to contraband trade, and the temptations are so strong, that I fear the continuance of it will not be short-lived. By this and other causes, which those, to whom they relate, are well apprised of, the voice of the Irish merchant is seldom listened to ; and the weight, which it should have in the state, and with foreign nations is inconsiderable. The sentiments of the Irish merchants are easily anticipated—they are therefore seldom consulted. But on this great question they should deliberate and should be heard. In a commercial nation, the voice of commercial men should not be set at nought.

The Established Church will have less reason to object to an Union than the Bar. With sorrow I see the gradual advances, which public opinion is making against the rights of the Clergy. Those estates, which are the provision of the Clergy, are viewed with encreasing jealousy, and the Irish House of Commons has not infrequently witnessed the effects

effects of it. Too much cause is to be found in the manners and modes of life of those, who now fill the clerical orders. Where is that respectability of appearance, that dignified modesty of deportment, that holy zeal, and that impressive example of life, by which the vulgar were awed, and the rest were won to respect them? The security of the Church estates totters from the loss of its reverend pillars. I am, however, of opinion, that the extinction of a Parliament in Ireland, will be the means of giving stability to the possessions of the Church.

The Bar is so extensive a field for wealth, fame, honors, and civil preferments, and is of such weight in this country, that the profession cannot but be most materially affected by the incorporation of the two kingdoms. With just reason the public attention is fixed on the result of a meeting of the members of that profession, on the question of an Union. Those too, who are concerned in the Government of the kingdom, are not unconcerned as to the opinion of the Bar. The learning, the judgment, the connections, the influence, the power of that profession must give weight

weight to their political opinions. If the interest of the nation demands an Union, the Bar will not, I am sure, balance its separate interests against those of their country. But if the measure shall appear to be inexpedient, the influence of that profession will not be exerted in vain.

The landed interest will have less to guide it in the discussion of the question, than any other part of the nation. Speculation will have its fullest scope. But the manufactures, and particularly those, that are yet in their infancy, will be most materially concerned. The linen manufacturer will not be injured in any degree, but perhaps he will be benefited by an Union. The coarse woollen manufacture, which gives employment to the South, stands much in the same situation with that of linens, and has nothing to fear from England. But the cotton manufactory, and others which Ireland has been struggling to establish in herself, and are now protected by duties on English goods of the same kind, will have reason to be watchful for their existence. Provisions and regulations will be necessary to save them, and the numbers who have embarked their properties in them should have time

to frame those provisions, before the measure shall take effect.

Local interests are deeply engaged in this great question. The metropolis of Ireland looks with an agony of anxiety, at a measure, by which she is apprehensive that her ruin may be accomplished. If the Union is to be productive of an unbounded extension of commerce, how will Dublin be made partaker in the benefit? The Court and the Parliament brought that city to a state of the highest beauty and improvement. Thousands, building their faith on the separate national existence of Ireland, have sunk their properties in purchases or in the establishment of their trades in or near to Dublin. Their security totters, and their estates are already depreciated by the mere avowal of the intended measure. The situation of the metropolis, the badness and insecurity of her harbour, the shallowness of her river,—these and many other causes will operate to prevent the existence of her commerce, and her reaping any advantages from the Union, which can compensate her for her losses. Cork on the other hand will derive every benefit, which Dublin must lose. The situation of Cork

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in the map of Europe will draw commerce to her great harbour. Thus one part of the nation will be aggrandized at the expence of another. The misery of an impoverished province is not counterbalanced by the prosperity of another.

How many arrangements therefore will be necessary to prevent the partial operation of an Union? How much time will it require to examine consequences, and to guard against them? How much consultation and deliberation will be wanting amongst the different parts of the nation,—its Merchants, its Professions, its Parliament, its Men of Estate, and its Men of Trade?

And can the advantages and disadvantages of an Union, and all its consequences, be seen and weighed in a moment? Does the yet agitated and nervous state of Ireland afford that moment which prudence would select? The public papers are yet filled with the detail of outrages committed daily throughout the kingdom, and which serve to keep the inhabitants in a state of continual alarm. It will not be deemed unfair to presume from thence, that one of two consequences must ensue, viz. that
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the proposition will be either embraced with inconsiderate eagerness, or rejected with resentment: the former consequence will be produced by that exhausted state of body and mind, which proceeds from unceasing terrors, and flies for shelter to any thing, that seems to promise it a momentary relief, and a defence against continued attacks. The latter consequence will follow from this, that an impression (however false, yet natural to an agitated mind) may be received by the nation, which will unfortunately lead it to believe, that the hour of national distress was selected for pressing a measure big with consequences, and which without being fairly examined, will be considered as injurious to Ireland; candour, and cool judgment, and good temper will be strangers to the determination, and the true interests of the nation will be overlooked; violent resolutions and decisions will follow: I know the impetuous and irritable temper of my countrymen, and I know how easily it is misdirected.

An event the most extraordinary, the most dangerous, and I will add the most unnatural may succeed; a temporary and partial and designing coalition

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may be formed between the disaffected and the loyal : partial—because it has only one object in view, namely, the defeat of the measure of an Union; designing—because it is making the loyal part of the nation ancillary to the views of traitors; temporary—because it will cease with its object. The effects of such a coalition are not easily calculated; animosities would be created between Ireland and Britain, and the grand wish of treason would be accomplished by the creation of a division between two kingdoms, which ought to be linked together by an indissoluble tie, and have no separate interests.

And would the adoption of the measure act like a charm in instantaneously composing every discontented mind in Ireland? or would its operation be slow and gradual?

Is there not too much reason to fear, that the ill temper of the nation may now not only reject the measure without valuing it, but that an impression may be left behind, which will impede the accomplishment of it at a future period: many are the advantages which it promises—many are the sacrifices

fices which must be made at its adoption. Prejudices are always clamorous and violent—Reason and Time may, and alone can remove them.

In the wisdom of an honourable Government, and in the good sense of England I rest my hope, that the sickly state of Ireland will not be selected for the hour of change.

Ου παθημα, αλλα μαθημα σωφροσυνη.

ZEN.

F I N I S.

those which must be made at the adoption. Pro-
ceeds are always clamorous and violent—Reason
and time may, and alone can remove them.

In the wisdom of an honorable Government,
and in the good sense of the people, I rest my hope,
that the sickly state of the Union will not be selected
for the hour of change.



Co. of the 1st Regt. of the 1st Div. of the 1st Army Corps.

1862

FINISHED